1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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482

(*a*) On the Middle Opi

361

(*b*) The Village of Poho

PLATE III [facing p. 21]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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512 241 down his axe and turns to his string bag hanging on a stump for refreshment of betel-nut and a breather.

After the felling of timber there is the burning of it, which is hot work with a vengeance, for the hottest day is regarded as the best opportunity for making a clean sweep of the litter which clearing has left behind it. In none of his gardening operations, however, does the Orokaiva display unnecessary haste. He moves hither and thither, gathering armfuls for the blaze, and gives it a desultory poke or raking with his long stick. Meanwhile, the atmosphere is visibly dancing with the heat, and broad leaves are caught and floated upwards by the ascending currents of air.

512 417 Maybe the work on hand is that of fencing. One or two men are driving the stakes and laying the rails that constitute the primitive fence. Theirs is the skilled work—if so it may be called—while it is for the women folk to maintain the supply of materials. Among these unskilled labourers the unmarried daughters, strapping young women who have discarded their bark-cloth skirts for greater freedom, move through the garden as naked as Eve through Paradise, supposing the mother of mankind to have worn at least an armlet or two or a flower in her hair for ornament. The children—particularly the little girls, who show an earlier disposition for work than do their brothers—bear their small and irresponsible share. The baby, meanwhile, hanging in a knitted string bag from some convenient tree-branch, sleeps undisturbed. [854]

512 482 The housewife has probably pulled some taro and gathered some of the edible leaves with which it is to be seasoned; and now when the morning's work is over she will stow these into her string bag, which has incredible powers of distension, squat beside it to arrange upon the crown of her head the band which serves as handle, and so rise to her feet to plod contentedly homeward. The baby [854] hangs, still sound asleep, in a second bag upon the woman's stooping back, and her husband, shouldering his spear and digging-stick again, leads the way.

512 So in their own time most of the families will have returned by noon to the village. There may be something to

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in the first place the exigencies of nature: the flood with its opportunities for fishing and the pursuit of small game; the heat of the early North-West season when the grass-burning will go forward and great hunting parties assemble; the long dry spell when the villagers must turn to making sago, or go down to a fishing camp, the streams being then at their shallowest.

There are also the many new activities, not always welcome, which Government control has occasioned. The village must clear its allotted span of track with every moon; the passing of an officer means a turn out of carriers (and the Orokaiva are reputed to be as sturdy and cheerful as any in the Territory); and the approach of a patrol means a mild bustle of diligence in which the village must be made to look its best for fear of magisterial wrath. Again the Plantations scheme and the presence of a supervising officer mean labour of a somewhat new kind, which for those who live from hand to mouth seems irksome because unrepaid by immediate returns.

Now and again the recruiter of native labour passes, lays out his trade for those who will bargain to go with him, and leaves perhaps with a batch of young men to 'sign-on' for European employment. But the sadness of parting, however real, is not more moving than the demonstrative welcome at the labourer's home-coming, when his women folk, who threw themselves down and beat their foreheads on the ground for sorrow at his going, do the same again with equal violence for joy at his return.

Apart from these sources of interest, and from events of birth, marriage, and death, and again from the more startling incidents of thefts, quarrels, and occasional murders which are all but necessary to any human society, native life is varied by a number of festive and ceremonial occasions which constitute a very important part of it.

Not a few of these are associated with the rites of mourning and with the placation of the beings who survive death. When a death occurs mourners, summoned by long blasts of the trumpet, gather from far and wide to the scene and give themselves with what one suspects to be almost joyful abandon to the indulgence of grief. The house of the dead

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574 43 Towards the end of the day comes the formal distribution of food. The master of the feast, conferring anxiously with his friends, has been setting out the taro in heaps, making them correspond by laborious arithmetic with the number of his principal guests. Now that the tally appears satisfactory, he turns, with an enthusiasm bordering on violence, to the distribution. With loud shouts he and his assistants rush back and forth depositing, or often rather hurling down, bunches of taro before the guests, who accept them with a fitting appearance of indifference. In the same way the pig flesh—legs, quarters, chines, and entrails—are bestowed on top of the taro heaps, and the guests are ready to depart. They have been sufficiently regaled throughout the day; the food thus finally distributed is to be carried home. 574 43 The women pack it into their string bags and prepare to move off. Men and children will bear their part. One remembers the spectacle of a diminutive child bearing away 482 the blood-spattered head of a huge pig, balanced with difficulty and pride upon his own small crown. Thus laden with proofs of friendship the guests depart to await the time when, in a year or so, they will make a similar return of hospitality.

535 536 With certain of these festivals there will go the dance and pantomine. The Orokaiva ballet will be described in greater detail in another chapter, but in passing one may claim that its brilliant natural setting, the sudden theatrical entry of the performers into the sunlit village, their paint and feathers and voluminous costumes of dyed palm-leaf, the inspiriting beat of the drum, and above all the swift movements of the dance, full of grace and power, all combine to make a spectacle that one might even call magnificent. The mime comes as a dramatic interlude in the dance, and presents as a theme some legend or incident of village life, enacted with great spirit and humour, and sometimes with considerable taste, upon the most realistic of stages—the village itself, and in the midst of the audience who are on such intimate terms with the actors as occasionally to add an extempore touch of their own to the play.

Such social amusements as these still continue, one is happy to say, to add some zest and interest to native life.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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where females are served by wild boars. It is fed every evening, and probably sleeps under the house.

Always a restless and obtrusive creature, the village pig is sometimes aggressive towards strangers, so that more than one visitor, even of magisterial importance, has been compelled to seek safety in the altitude of a house verandah. But, however unattractive, the pig is treated with consideration and even fondness by the villagers. Its owners, man and wife, are referred to as its father and mother. While young it may be washed with a magical infusion to promote its growth. It is given a personal name, and as it grows becomes an identity of importance in the village. As the inevitable hour of parting draws near, its 'mother' will be genuinely grief-stricken; and when at last her pig is bound for the sacrifice and lies groaning and struggling under the house, she will sit beside it, stroking it and shedding copious tears.

The pig is carried in the usual manner, with its feet bound to a pole. For a long journey a pig-litter (*kakato*) may be used. It is a cage-like structure of cane which, as it were, is made to measure and fits closely about the animal's body (see p. 79). The conventional method of slaughtering is with the spear, and at a feast of importance this is done ceremonially, a number of pigs being set in a row and stuck simultaneously. On such an occasion I have seen one of the butchers, more elderly than the rest, fail to impart sufficient force to his thrust, and try again, amid a good deal of laughter, until he drove the point home. Then he levered the shaft of his weapon back and forth like a crow-bar to make his work the surer. On the whole, however, there is no special inhumanity in the treatment of pigs.

The actual butchering is performed on a platform. Two long incisions are made from shoulder to tail, and the skin cut off together with a thick coating of fat. Then the body is dismembered with axe, trade knife, and bamboo knife (the last-named, *ivi*, is still used because of its extraordinary sharpness). The carving is not a pleasing spectacle. The blood drips through between the rails of the platform and is eagerly lapped up by quarrelling dogs below. There may

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285 rib, and amount to a neat and ingenious way of disposing of the tag ends. Equally neat and ingenious is the suggestion made in an early *Annual Report*. 'Some of them [coco-nut mats] are even provided with appendages near the head of the mat, which is cut square across, resembling sleeves in outline. This is for the arms to rest on.'[1] The Orokaiva, 285 516 however, does not lie on his back or his belly with a cruci-

FIG. 16. Orokaiva and Waria Patterns of *Kambije* up to 2 ft. long.

form outstretching of the arms; and until this posture has been actually recorded, the above suggestion, like many more weighty ones in anthropology, must remain unsubstantiated.

285 *Leaf Basketry*. There is no genuine basketry among the Orokaiva: the *kambije* hardly deserves the dignity of the name. It is made on the same principle as the mat *tere*, viz. by splitting part of a coco-nut frond down the midrib and by weaving the leaves together. The two halves of the midrib are now made to constitute the mouth of the bag or basket, which opens or closes like a Gladstone bag. Imported from the river Waria comes a larger and better-made example which has become fashionable on the Gira and the Mambare. In the smaller, which is the usual Orokaiva form, the plaited tag ends of leaflets become appendages to the top of the *kambije*, near its mouth, and are called *tengere* or 'ears' (Bin. *dengoro*). In the Waria style they appear at the bottom of the basket and are called *jimi* or 'tails'.

285 482 *The Cane Pig Basket* (*Kakate*). A kind of litter is devised for carrying pigs on long journeys. The pig is first bound and laid on the ground. Two hoops of cane are fitted over it, to ensure that they are of the right size, and then each hoop is made the frame of a strong rough network of split cane. The two fabrics are finally bound together with the

[1] *Annual Report*, 1893–4, p. 31.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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285 pig inside, enclosed as if in a made-to-measure basket. It
482 remains questionable whether the pig travels more comfortably thus than in the normal way with its feet tied to a pole.

285 *Plaiting.* Belts are made by men with very thin strips of cane. Several effective patterns are done in yellow and black
[462] of which I have recorded only the commonest one (*vide* Plate IX). Belts and armlets or leglets are made from a species of brown creeper fibre, plaited very closely into bands of varying width.

462 *String and Rope.* String such as is used in making small
283 fish-nets is made by women. They tease out pandanus fibre and roll it on the thigh. Rope, e.g. for pig-nets, is made by men from pandanus.

322 *Woodwork.* Wooden bowls (*teva*) are cut out of blocks of
[412] soft wood. The work is done with a light adze and the surface is smoothed with sandpaper leaves. The finished article is a light boat-shaped vessel, with or without a handle at one end; though entirely without ornament, it sometimes possesses a graceful outline. These *teva* are often
[463] made by men who appear to be experts, and they make the nearest approach to the stock-in-trade of a specialist.

The carving of hard-wood into lime spatulae has been already mentioned (p. 66). With somewhat rare exceptions such carving is inferior or careless; and in many cases scratching would be a better word.

Weapons

411 *Spears.* The principal weapon is the spear, of which several varieties are distinguished.

(1) The ordinary pig-spear (*o-ki*) is made of black palmwood (*koropa*). It is heavy and long—often about 12 feet. The section towards the point is half oval, and there are two sets of barbs.

(2) The fighting spear (*overo*) is much lighter and only about 9 feet in length. It is made either of *koropa* palm or of a reddish hard-wood (*kimana*) which takes a high polish. The section toward the point is approximately square; there are four sets of barbs, often well cut; and some distance below

1: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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tibu). The men who had not themselves secured victims would sing (another Sangara example),

U sina nane araka, u sina nane,

'Mine was like a water-fight', by which they meant that they had fought as ineffectually as children bathing and splashing one another with water.

The corpses of grown men were tied by hands and feet to a pole and carried face downward. In the case of a child one hand was tied to one foot, and a warrior would sling the body over his shoulder as a hunter might a wallaby's. Usually, perhaps always, the victim was dead before he was bound in this manner.

An ingenious, if gruesome, method of carrying human flesh was actually observed by a former Resident Magistrate in the Division.

> 'The limbs had been peculiarly treated. The ankle-joints had been severed, leaving the tendon Achilles intact. The bones of the leg had then been excised, and the pelvical bone removed. The ham had been neatly cut off. The boneless leg was wrapped carefully round a three-foot stick, and the foot secured to the stick by a piece of vine. In this manner the flesh could be carried comfortably on one's back.'[1]

Informants have said that no captives except desirable women, and sometimes little children, were allowed to live: it was a safer thing to kill them outright to prevent all chance of escape. There was, as far as I am aware, no such thing as torture, and the suggestion that one of the infant captives might be kept and fattened like a pig against some future occasion was regarded as horrible: how would it be thinkable to kill a child that was already calling its captives *aja* and *mama*?[2] True torture, as far as I am aware, was never practised, though C. A. W. Monckton, as Resident Magistrate of the North-Eastern Division, writes: '. . . the Dobodura attacked and defeated the Notu, driving them from

[1] W. E. Armit, in *Annual Report*, 1899–1900, quoted by J. H. P. Murray in *Papua or British New Guinea*, pp. 331, 332.

[2] Chinnery and Beaver, however, recount an incident in which the Yema 'killed a Gilita boy named Omba, who had been captured when very young, tied him up', and sent the body to the Binandele (*Annual Report*, 1914–15, p. 159). But here the case is somewhat different. Yema and Binandele were in alliance against the Gilita, and the Yema had just received a present of a pig from the Binandele.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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The seclusion will probably last several months; but in this, as in most other cases of seclusion, the time is not fixed, but depends upon the pig[1] and the garden produce. When these are ready the seclusion may be brought to an end.

The girl's confinement is not always of the strictest. She may retire to the bush either by means of a passage between palm-leaf walls at the rear of the house, or else she may walk out wrapped in an *obi* mat. These precautions are meant, of course, to screen her from the view of the village. The compartment in which she lives is small and dark, perhaps a walled-off corner, though she is not confined there perpetually. In some cases I noted that she was allowed the freedom of the whole house. She is well fed, and lives in complete and probably contented idleness; nor can I hear of any special instructions which her elders may impart to her during this period. Her body is covered with a mess of coco-nut oil and charcoal, the effect of which is supposedly to make her complexion fairer (*panjari* or *boboma*). In the broad daylight the skin of a secluded girl wears a somewhat yellow or sallow tint which is deemed attractive. She must avoid being seen by men, though this rule evidently does not apply to her father and immediate male relatives.

When preparations for the girl's début are complete she is carried down to the river at earliest dawn on the shoulders of a woman, and there the oil and charcoal are washed off. This operation should be over in time for the girl to be back in her house before full daylight, but one may be up in time to witness the curious spectacle of a woman staggering through the village with a full-grown girl, completely naked, sitting astride her shoulders. In the very touchy or susceptible condition in which a girl finds herself at the end of seclusion, it appears that there is a source of danger in contact with the ground. But this risk, if it is always felt, is sometimes ignored, for on one occasion I saw several

[1] One pig, indeed, may serve for several quite independent ceremonies. A man Tembari, for example, has his pubescent daughter and his widowed sister both interned in his house. He has a pig fattening, and when it has reached a satisfactory size it will serve for a feast at which his daughter and sister will terminate their seclusion and his son receive a perineal band.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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bour. Theft is not altogether uncommon and in former times may have led to serious reprisals. An old man tells how he found a woman stealing his taro, and immediately dealt her a blow on the back with his pineapple club, with corrective but happily not fatal results. So also we find tales of ravaged gardens, tale-bearing, accusations, and the indeterminate duels in which the Orokaiva rejoices to find a vent for his anger. As prevention is better than cure, however, the garden is often guarded by some taboo sign—a few wisps of grass laid across the path, a thin tape of bark tied to sticks and encircling the garden, or some coco-nut leaflets knotted about the trunk of the palm. These are nearly always respected, partly through mere law-abidingness, partly because of the veiled threat of sorcery which they imply.

Besides these frail but effective safeguards, the gardener used occasionally to resort to practical measures more after the manner of spring-guns and man-traps. The *oivo* is a miniature pitfall, lined with sharp little spikes, which, I was assured, are sometimes tipped with *inja*, or sorcerer's medicine. Concealed with leaves they were placed in gardens, or more usually on tracks leading into the village, so that any sorcerer who came prowling after dark might make a false step and betray his presence by a yell. Nowadays, I am told, the practice has been abandoned, and the only cases in which I heard of the *oivo*'s actual effectiveness were those in which the wrong man had been caught—perhaps naturally, as a guilty trespasser would lie low and conceal his injuries. A certain well-known character, ex-Corporal Bia, at the Mambare mouth, went, as he says, to inspect his brother's pineapples; but the inspection was cut short, just at the stage, perhaps when the sampling might have begun, by a step into the *oivo*.

(*e*) *Harvesting, Storing, &c.* The taro is planted from time to time, and used as it matures. Almost daily the wife will go out to her garden, do a little weeding, and fill her *eti*, or string bag, with freshly pulled taro. If she

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
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be accompanied by her husband they will probably return together about noon, he with his axe, knife, and spears over his shoulders, she, a few paces behind, bending forward under a weight of taro, greens, and firewood, her immensely distended string bag hanging over her back from a band across her sweating forehead, while the counter-balance of a sleeping baby in another string bag may hang before her. A small prick-eared dog trots alongside, and as the larger and more aggressive animal that accompanies the white man comes into view, she will (to avoid the possibility of conflict) contrive in some manner to sink down and gather the extra burden of a dog into her arms.

Replanting goes on from time to time, and the successive plots may be marked off by log boundaries (*tani*). The period of greatest activity is perhaps about the beginning of the North-West season, when more abundant rain can be counted on, and when the whole clan may be engaged in planting out the offsets, or *bere*. But there is no seasonable rule, and *bere* may be transplanted into damp localities in the middle of a dry spell. Indeed, one man complained that a term of three months in the district jail had coincided with such a dry spell, and he had actually lost all his offsets for lack of transplanting.

The fact that there is never real famine and that scarcity is a rare thing, brings about an attitude of mind which we might call improvidence. Yams are stored where they are grown; so also are *Tauga* nuts and *Puga*. But the two former are not common except in the south of the Division. Beyond these, and of course the coconut, the native puts by no vegetable food. When a feast is preparing, the taro will be gathered in great quantities and stacked on platforms. Some is eaten at the feast, some distributed with a great display of cordiality to the guests, who take it home. There is no method of preserving taro, and sometimes, when a feast is for any reason delayed, a great deal of food may deteriorate and become inedible.

3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

much as the education of the young is a conscious activity of adults, the internalization of norms and ideal patterns involves the manipulation of sanctions. What is sanctioned in childhood is the kind of behaviour required in adult life, plus a range of permitted behaviour, tolerated in youth, which diminishes as the individual grows older. So, secondly, we should be able to find within the field of education *a model of the kind of sanctions which circumscribe adult behaviour. I.e.*, if shame is a dominant sanction in adult life, it would not be surprising to find parents and other educators shaming the recalcitrant child and, at an earlier stage, ensuring that the individual will become sensitive to shame.

Thirdly, it is possible to view education as *authority in action*. It is important to know who educates, and what kinds of authority are exercised during the educative process. In a relatively stable society, we should expect some continuity between these kinds of authority and the kinds of authority used in the workaday and political activities of adults.

There are five stages in the Orokaiva life cycle. The last two—adult person (*embo*, or female *pamone*) and aged adult (*embo evovo* or *pamone evovo*) need not concern us here. It is necessary, however, to consider the first three: the baby (*meni orosati*), the little child (*meni isapa*) and the big boy or girl (*meni dombo*), in some detail, and then to examine the initiation ceremony which marks the transition from *meni dombo* to adult *embo* or *pamone*.

Orokaiva Childhood

An Orokaiva baby, from birth to the time he can walk, is known as *meni orosati*. He lives in a string bag which his mother carries wherever she goes. As the mother jogs along to the gardens, the pliant string bag is pulled taut by the baby's weight, and the characteristic pre-natal position is induced. When she gets to the gardens, she puts the string bag on some leaves on the ground, or hangs it from the branch of a tree, and goes about her digging and weeding. If the baby cries, demonstrating that he is hungry, she will come over to him, take him out of the string bag, and sit down on the ground to feed him. She pushes her nipple into his mouth, continues talking to the other woman, and apparently forgets the baby until he relaxes against her in sleep. Then she puts the baby back into the string bag. If the baby should cry when he is obviously not hungry, the mother gives him no more attention that a single enquiring glance, but if he continues to show signs of pain or sickness she consults one of the old women about him. This is done casually, whenever she happens to meet one of the old women; it is not judged to be urgent. By our standards, the Orokaiva mother seems to take very little interest in her baby. He is a nuisance because he hampers her movements. She fondles him very rarely, and frequently she leaves him for short periods in the care of older siblings.

My information concerning the Orokaiva attitude towards teething (which occurs well before weaning) is fragmentary. As soon as their teeth begin to appear, children are given solid foods to chew. The few babies I saw biting their mothers' breasts during nursing were quickly cuffed and scolded. One mother giggled, as the